/429 cont./

415 237 centimeters long is cut out, sewed up at one end with a straight edge, blown up taut, and immediately tied with tendon fibers at the other end. Sometimes they leave the circular cardiac muscles at the opening of the stomach attached to the lower part. These close automatically, which simplifies the work. This air bubble dries quickly, and the upper part of it is cut off straight. The elongated pouch is filled with pigment only to the middle. The free upper half is pressed flat and rolled down from the upper edge (Fig. 20). This not only makes a safe and convenient closing, but protects the contents against dampness and spilling. Sometimes they also tie a few tendon fibers lengthwise around the rolled packet to keep it closed. The white pigment, tumarápu, nevertheless hardens into a firm lump after a time, but this does not affect its use. Compared with this, the black pigment, yapušáke, namely, pounded charcoal, is used far less. It does not pay to take special pains to keep it because it is available everywhere.

302 ● 422 Much later we shall discuss the significance of the individual colors within the manifold patterns, but here we should like to correct the inaccurate opinion of certain observers who attribute to each color as /430/ such a definite meaning or a single and exclusive significance. Without qualification Dabbene (a):38 maintains that "the three colors, white, black, and red, which are used for painting, have their signification, since they are used respectively, as signs of war, mourning, or joy" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (e):332 is much closer to the truth. He writes: "The external sign of mourning was the face blackened with charcoal. White applied in dots and stripes was the color of revenge for murder, and red was the emblem of friendship and joy." /Fig. 20 appears here./ None of the three colors (111)

111. I herewith reject the inaccurate statements of Fitz-Roy (a):177, Dabbene (a):38 and (b):176, Lothrop (b):126, Spegazzini (a):170, and others. Hyades (q):349 repeats in detail the opinion of Bridges, upon whom Krickeberg: 331 also relies.

/430 cont./

302 has a single and exclusively unique meaning, but their signifi-
822 cance is rather in how they are used together or singly for certain types of painting and patterns according to consistent habit and conscious intent. The fact that various things are painted for no purpose but to beautify the object remains to be discussed, as does the particular form of body painting for certain occasions, such as a wedding or mourning, initiation ceremonies and ceremonies of men, important battles, and the rituals of medicine men. The everyday motives and general incentives will be mentioned here; the special occasions we refer to will be discussed at the proper place.

[415]

Fig. 20. Pouch for Pigments. Natural size.

302 Without doubt Aspinall:270 is right when he emphasizes: "All painting among these Indians has a special significance." The everyday painting is only for decoration, in accordance with the requirements for beauty and the demands of courtesy. According to Hyades (g):33, women and girls are "by no means indifferent with regard to their appearance, and try to beautify their faces as much as possible with horizontal lines and dots of white clay." /431/ Both Bridges and Hyades (q):349 are inaccurate, however, when it is asserted "this painting is regarded as a pastime" /translated from French/.

Every native wants to be more beautiful and adorns himself by arranging different colors in the form of lines and dots, cross-hatching, and circles, according to his own choice (112). He

112. With little accuracy Bove (e):157 wrote: "They paint themselves in all kind of ways;

/1463 cont./

517 whale," /cited in English/, according to BD:630, or wáalina for a man who makes a good canoe. People who make a small basket or an ornament with particular care are known far and wide, and the accurate construction of such things is talked about by others because it gives them satisfaction and true enjoyment. One often hears expressions like the following: "What a pretty thing! -- How good-looking that is! -- The workmanship is very accurate and shapely!..." Everyone praises the effort made by an artisan. When they see a perfect specimen, old people encourage the young ones to imitate it. Any kind of praise is gratifying to the Yamaná, and he makes an effort to obtain it. Beyond that, however, he also finds particular pleasure in the qualities of the beautiful object. A European, if he wants to be fair in his judgment, must take into consideration the difficulties that hamper the Yamana in the making and fashioning of his implements. For example, he does not have the use of metal tools and measuring instruments, but is dependent solely on his hardened, not very limber fingers and upon the measurements of his eye. For this reason, obviously, the various rows in a little basket (Fig. 101) or an ornament and the lines in a painting are never absolutely perfect. The indolence and the carelessness of persons who do not want to take pains and trouble are, of course, also reasons for many an inadequate piece of work.

531 The Yamana enhance the beauty of certain objects and their own bodies by means of painting. They use the well-known ma-
302 terials (p. 90) for the three colors that are the only ones applied:
● 822 lūš = red, scarlet; yágu = light, luminous, white; finally, lémbi = black. The pigments are either rubbed to a dry powder or first mixed with water or blubber in a large Mytilus shell (Fig. 102) to form a thick paste and then applied with the finger or with a painting stick (pp. 93 , 712 , 790). Designations for other tones of color are not altogether lacking, but are seldom used. For instance, one says lakíma, "gray," only for human hair and for fur, whereas the word pěwaiágu is used for the gray, faded, and pale color of any other object. Light red or a reddish yellow is designated by pájalūš. There is no particular significance attached to any of these colors (p. 94) (364), although one or

364. Martius: 188 and Spegazzini (a):170

/1463 cont./

531 have maintained the contrary,
302 without justification.

822 another is preferred on certain occasions for example, in the case of /1464/ mourning (p.1064). Scarlet gives the Yamana intense pleasure (365); the color of the náku blossom serves as a

365. This has been confirmed a number of times. Hyades (b):1345 and (d):306 says: "The favorite color is red; the other colors are often confused" /translated from French/. I also agree with the last part of his statement. The designations that he (q):205 lists for all kinds of colors are worthless.

standard of comparison for them (p.494). The Yamana use the
531 well-known pigments to paint their faces or their entire bodies
302 on various occasions. The gay and rich variety of their designs very clearly expresses their by no means limited sense of beauty. This is even more definitely shown in their ornaments and in the patterns of color with which they cover various objects, such as the Kina masks and the ornamental staffs used in the čiẽxaus hut (Plates 2, 3, 4). /Fig. 102 appears here./ The Yamana have a considerable number of special designations for the various types of painting. The word wĭęsteka means "to paint horizontal lines upon the face with ímí as a mark of friendship" /cited in English/, according to BD:610; the word ąjasina means "to paint the face with up and down bands or lines of either red or black" /cited in English/. The painting is sometimes supplemented with a feather decoration. I observed neither a special gift nor an inclination to
532 draw among the Yamana (366); I never saw children scratch simple

366. Differing on this point, Phillips (a):1011 reported: "It was strange that the Fuegians showed a great inclination to draw. Without being told, they collected strips of paper and drew caricatures on them with charcoal, which were supposed to represent their comrades. They were then given pencils, and they eagerly

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Red Symbolized Peace; Designs were very simple, confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells (*Photinula violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes.—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without crosspiece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *e*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, including paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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301 a small hole near the lip of the shell. Through these holes a braided sinew cord was run, doubled back on itself, and lashed with spiral wrappings of sinew. This method of stringing is illustrated in fig. 50. The shells thus united are always graded according to size, sometimes with the biggest shell at one end and the smallest at the other, sometimes with the big shells in the middle and the small ones at either end.

FIG. 50.—Detail of Yahgan shell necklace. Length of shells, one-half in. (14/2339)

USE OF PAINT

386 Like the Ona, the Yahgan made regular use of a red paint (*ímí*)
822 obtained by burning earth, a black paint (*yapúshak*) made of charcoal, and a white paint (*tum'rápo*) of clay. According to Fitzroy (p. 177) and Dabbene (1907, p. 58) these colors have symbolic significance. Thus, white was the sign of war or ceremonial display, black was the mark of grief and mourning, while red denoted peace and happiness. With their paints the Indians
531 adorned their persons, their dance masks, their ceremonial lodges, and some of their tools and utensils. The latter were often embellished with solid color, but body, dance masks, and ceremonial lodges were made the field for painted designs.

In pl. IX is shown a selection of patterns taken from the frame of a ceremonial lodge. No simpler motives of artistic significance can be achieved, for these designs are mere smudges of color applied with thumb or finger. The elements are a dot, a short line, and, in one instance, a circle. Two lines are combined to form a cross, a T, and a chevron. Design units repeat themselves in simple rhythm.

Dance masks are illustrated in figs. 92 and 93. Their designs, though of symbolic significance, are again abysmally primitive. Facial painting may be studied in the photographs published by Koppers (1924); they are similar to the patterns here described.